

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: ELECTION PREVIEW: CADIZ

SUMMARY: THE PROVINCE OF CADIZ WILL HAVE 8 SEATS IN THE
NEW PARLIAMENT'S CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES AND THE STANDARD 4
IN THE SENATE. THE BASIC ELECTORAL CONTEST WILL PIT THE
CENTER (PARTICULARLY CENTRO DEMOCRATICO) AGAINST THE RIGHT
(SPECIFICALLY ALIANZA POPULAR), WITH THE FORMER CLEARLY
HAVING ITS WORK CUT OUT FOR IT. THE TWO, TOGETHER, SHOULD
WIN A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY OF THE VOTE, WITH THE PSOE COMING
IN WITH 18-25PERCENT, AND THE COMMUNIST TRAILING WITH 8-12PERCENT.
END SUMMARY.

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1. AMCONSUL SEVILLE, AS PART OF OUR EFFORT TO PROVIDE THE
DEPT WITH POLITICAL ATMOSPHERICS FROM REPRESENTATIVE
OUTLYING PROVINCES, HAS FILED THE FOLLOWING REPORT ON THE
IMPORTANT ANDALUSIAN PROVINCE OF CADIZ.

2. THE SETTING. THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF CADIZ, PERHAPS MORE
THAN THAT OF ANY OF ANDALUSIA'S SEVEN OTHER PROVINCES, IS

CHARACTERIZED BY A MIX OF INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY. IN POLITICAL TERMS, THIS TRANSLATES INTO THE EXISTENCE OF A STRONG CONSERVATIVE SECTOR, DOMINATED BY THE WEALTHY BUSINESSMEN-FARMERS WHOSE CORPORATE-STYLE APPROACH HAS LARGELY DISPLACED THE TITLED FAMILIES WHO HELD NEARLY FEUDAL SWAY OVER THE SECTOR WITH THEIR VAST HOLDINGS AND ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE AMPLIFICATION OF PORT FACILITIES IN ALGECERAS AND CADIZ AND THE LINKED GROWTH OF SHIPPING, SHIPBUILDING, OIL REFINING AND RELATED SERVICES HAVE BROUGHT THE CONCOMITANT GROWTH OF THE PROVINCE'S URBAN MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASSES, WITH MORE OF A CENTRIST AND LEFTIST POLITICAL BENT. THE PROVINCE'S THREE MAJOR CITIES ARE JEREZ DE LA FRONTERA (100,000), CADIZ (130,000), AND ALGECIRAS (100,000).

2. A FALTERING ECONOMY. CADIZ SHARES WITH OTHER ANDALUSIAN PROVINCES STRUCTURAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE ENGENDERED AN ENDEMIC JOB SHORTAGE AND A RESULTING STEADY FLIGHT OF FARM WORKERS TO THE CITIES AND OF "ANDALUCES" GENERALLY TO NORTHERN SPANISH PROVINCES, PARTICULARLY BARCELONA AND VIZCAYA, AS WELL AS TO FRANCE AND POINTS NORTH. EVEN WITH THE ESCAPE VALVE OF EMIGRATION, HOWEVER, UNEMPLOYMENT IN CADIZ IS CURRENTLY HOVERING AROUND A WORRISOME 9PERCENT. --SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT MAKES UP PART OF THIS FIGURE, WHILE --GENERALIZED RECESSION HAS REDUCED JOB OPPORTUNITIES AS WELL IN TOURISM, CONSTRUCTION, SHIPBUILDING AND OTHER INDUSTRIES.

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3. REJECTION OF EXTREMES. HOW THE RESTIVENESS AND UNCERTAINTY RESULTING FROM THESE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WILL TRANSLATE INTO ELECTION RESULTS IS NOT YET CLEAR, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THEY WILL HAVE ANY APPRECIABLE RADICALIZING EFFECT ON THE RETURNS. THE RESOUNDING SUPPORT FOR THE SUAREZ GOVT'S REFORM PROGRAM REGISTERED BY CADIZ IN THE DECEMBER REFERENDUM (81PERCENT TURNOUT, WITH 95.6PERCENT OT THOSE VOTING "YES") POINTS TO A PREPONDERANCE OF MODERATION IN THE PROVINCE'S ELECTORATE AND THE REJECTION OF BOTH EXTREMES.

4. THE ROLE OF ISSUES. THE ELECTORATE'S CONCERNS ARE CLEAR. THE MAN IN THE STREET IS WORRIED ABOUT WAGES, INFLATION, AND UNEMPLOYMENT; BUSINESSMEN FRET OVER LABOR COSTS, PAYMENTS TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM AND STRIKES; FARMERS ARE CONCERNED OVER LABOR COSTS AND UNSTEADY MARKETS; AND EVERYONE SEEMS TO BE PREOCCUPIED ABOUT PUBLIC ORDER. POLITICAL LEADERS, HOWEVER, HAVE TENDED TO GLOSS OVER MANY OF THESE ISSUES, WHILE DEALING IN GENERALITIES AND SPENDING CONSIDERABLE TIME TAGGING THE GOS FOR ANDALUSIA'S

DIFFICULTIES AND PROMOTING THE DEVOLUTION OF FISCAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS TO THE PROVINCIAL GOVTS AS A NECESSARY PRE-CONDITION FOR EFFECTIVELY ADDRESSING THE "NEGLECTED" REGION'S MANY PROBLEMS.

5. CENTER VS RIGHT. IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, WE JUDGE THAT THE ELECTION OUTCOME IN CADIZ AND THROUGHOUT ANDALUSIA WILL HINGE NOT ON SPECIFIC ISSUES BUT ON THE ELECTORATE'S PERCEPTION OF WHICH GROUP CAN BEST GUIDE THE COUNTRY FROM THE RIGIDITIES OF THE FRANCO ERA TO A MORE OPEN, DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WITH THE LEAST AMOUNT OF TURBULENCE. IN THE ANDALUSIAN CONTEXT, THIS MEANS THAT THE REAL CONTEST WILL PIT THE CENTER (PARTICULARLY CENTRO DEMOCRATICO) AGAINST THE RIGHT (SPECIFICALLY ALIANZA POPULAR).

6. SUAREZ' ROLE COULD BE CRITICAL. THE CENTRO, WHICH CONSISTS OF MANUEL CLAVERO'S PARTIDO SOCIAL LIBERAL ANDALUZ LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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(PSLA) IN ADDITION TO THE ALREADY WELL-KNOWN MADRID-BASED CONSTITUENT GROUPS, ENJOYS CONSIDERABLE APPEAL AMONG LESS CONSERVATIVE PROFESSIONALS, BUSINESSMEN AND EDUCATORS AND AMONG MEMBERS OF THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASS GENERALLY. (THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC "TEAM", IN CONTRAST, APPEARS TO COMMAND LITTLE SUPPORT.) ALIANZA POPULAR, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS BACKED STRONGLY BY MUCH OF THE LOCAL AND PROVINCIAL LEVEL POWER STRUCTURE. WHICH OF THESE TWO GROUPINGS WILL PRE-DOMINATE IS UNCLEAR, ALTHOUGH WHETHER PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ IDENTIFIES HIMSELF IN SOME WAY WITH THE CENTRO COULD BE CRITICAL TO ITS FORTUNES. FOR ITS PART, THE ALIANZA IS CERTAIN TO PLAY ON CONCERNS ABOUT PUBLIC ORDER AND FEARS OF THE COMMUNISTS.

7. A CENTER-RIGHT MAJORITY. WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE "MANO A MANO" BETWEEN CENTRO DEMOCRATICO AND ALIANZA POPULAR, THE TWO GROUPS TOGETHER SHOULD WIN A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY OF THE VOTE. THE PSOE SHOULD FOLLOW WITH 18-25PERCENT, WITH THE COMMUNISTS BRINGING UP THE REAR OF THE MAJOR GROUPINGS WITH 8 - 12 PERCENT. STABLER

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